The Southern PATRIOT

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Governor Sam Jones Bourbon Mouthpiece Poses As Reformer

Sam Jones, Louisiana's anti-New Deal governor, writing in the *Saturday Evening Post* (with the help of his press agent), maintains that he is a liberal. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

To understand Jones' *Post* article, one must go back to the days of Huey Long, who, as everyone has come to know, was a dangerous and tremendously clever despot. Long stole, or permitted stealing by his henchmen, from

(Continued on Page 2)

Freight Rates Keep South In Economic Bondage

South's Future Depends on ICC Rulings

The problem of freight rate discrimination is probably one of the most discussed and least understood subjects in the South.

The first thing to remember is that the South grew up with a raw material economy. It grew things like cotton. From its mines came coal and ore. The South produced the raw materials, and the East processed them: turned logs into furniture, cotton into textiles.

In other words, the South functioned just as colonial dependencies always have functioned.

Unfortunately, under a colonial or raw material economy, a region or a country will be generally poor and will get poorer, because it will be exhausting its wealth of natural resources and getting not enough in

(Continued on Page 3)

Thomas Jefferson South's Greatest Patriot

It was on April 13th, 200 years ago, that Thomas Jefferson, the greatest Southerner—and some say, the greatest American—was born. Author of the Declaration of Independence, champion of public education, defender of popular democracy, statesman, philosopher, and above all, a patriot, Jefferson has left an indelible impress upon the history of our nation.

* * * *

The government under Adams was a tool of the Federalist Party of vested interests, with Alexander Hamilton its real ruler. Control passed into the hands of a rapidly contracting few. The French Revolution, with its heralding of liberty, equality, fraternity, evoked only panic and hysteria in the minds of the ruling groups, who hastily enacted the alien and sedition laws and attacked Jefferson and all other champions of democracy as "foreign agents."

* * * *

The Federalist Party, with Aaron Burr as its candidate, went down to defeat and Jefferson became President in 1801. But the struggle continued, even though it adopted new forms. With Hamilton dead at the hands of Burr, with the Federalist Party devoid of all popular following, Burr and his clique quickly degenerated into a band of conspirators, intriguing with foreign powers in order to divide the United States and to smash the young democracy.

That the United States was at war with England, and in peril, simply stimulated the conspirators to more energetic plotting, to exploit the difficulties in which our nation found itself.

President Jefferson did not mince words either in exposing the plotters or in urging unity. "Federalism," he said, "stripped as it now nearly is of landed and laboring support, is monarchism and Anglicanism, and whenever our own dissensions shall let these in upon us the last ray of free government closes. . . . The situation of our country is such as . . . will require the union of all its friends to resist its enemies within and without. If we schismatize on either men or measures, if we do not act in a phalanx, as when we rescued it from the satellites of monarchism, I will not say our **party**, for the term is false and degrading, but our **nation** will be undone."

Speaking of the Federalist group, Jefferson characterized them "as but a faction, weak in numbers, but powerful and profuse in the command of money, and backed by a nation (Britain) powerful also and profuse in the use of the same means."

* * * *

It was to the people that Jefferson looked for support against these enemies. "It is my principle that the will of the majority shall prevail," he once said. And again, "I am not one of those who fear the people." He drew the obvious conclusion from this principle: "Let every man who fights or plays exercise his just and equal right to vote."

* * * *

And so today, when our country again is faced with dangerous enemies without and within, when it is the unity of the American people behind another great president that is needed, it is to the people we must look. To win this war, the people, regardless of race, color and creed, must participate fully and equally in every sphere, economic, political and military. This is the way to unity.

These are some of the lessons which the Sage of Monticello has for us today. May we apply them well.

Governor Sam Jones

(Continued from Page 1)

everyone in Louisiana. Despite his strong Fascist coloration, he was bitterly opposed by those who control Louisiana big business, big agriculture and finance. On the other hand, great numbers of the honest poorer citizens of Louisiana looked upon Huey Long as a champion of their cause. Their political insight had been dulled by generations of oppression, so that they did not recognize this arch-oppressor. He stole from them—many of them knew it—but they felt that he was giving them something in return. He gave them free school books for their children while piling up a state debt which these same children would be paying long afterwards. It was as simple as that.

When the Long machine began to crack in 1939, four years after his death, the old Tory crowd was quick to jump. Sam Jones was chosen for the governor's post. He had a "good" record as a corporation lawyer and a solid American Legion background.

Jones A Loyal Stooge

Jones was the stooge candidate of refined Fascism against hoodlum Fascism. He has been a loyal stooge, but an inept politician. He has bungled on every hand; has been beaten in every brush with the remnants of the Long regime. The people of Louisiana have been in the middle.

It is not strange that Sam Jones should turn up in the *Saturday Evening Post* as an advocate of Southern secession from the Democratic Party. His vitriolic attack on the New Deal and his echo of the white supremacy doctrine are but the words he has been ordered to speak. He represents Southern reaction, those who would benefit most by defeat of a New Deal program. It is laughable that he should claim to be a liberal while serving the opposite cause so obviously.

Freight Rates Keep South In Economic Bondage

(Continued from Page 1)

return to make up for it.

The profits of labor come most largely not from the production of low-priced raw materials, but in transforming those materials into useful and complex products. Labor's share of the selling value of a pound of iron is quite small; labor's share of the value of a pound of, say, alarm clocks, is quite high.

Industry Will Raise Income

If the South is to have a greater total income, it has no choice but to do more of the processing of its own raw materials itself. So long as the South's income is low it will be ignorant, it will be disease-ridden, it will be undemocratic.

The East, on the other hand, and we are talking here of that section of the country which lies north of the Ohio and the Potomac and east of the Upper Mississippi, has for a long time had an industrial economy. It contains, roughly, 51 per cent of the nation's population. That population does about 72 per cent of the country's manufacturing. And for its efforts it receives about 75 per cent of the nation's cash income.

It is perfectly obvious that in order to develop manufacturing in the South, manufacturers must sell their products in the market which can best absorb them. That market is that same Eastern territory just described. The Southern manufacturer must be able to sell in the East articles that are already made in the East. This is where freight rates come in.

Keeps Southern Wages Low

Let's take an example. A manufacturer of shoes in Birmingham, Alabama, wishes to sell his product in Pittsburgh, about six hundred miles away. He is competing with a shoe manufacturer whose plant in the East is also about six hundred miles from Pittsburg. He finds, however, that it has cost him more to send his shoes the six hundred miles to Pittsburg than it has cost the Eastern manufacturer to ship his shoes an equal distance. The cost of transportation has to be added to the price of any article, therefore, unless the Birmingham manufacturer absorbs the freight rate difference, he won't make a sale. If he absorbs the difference he has to make up for it somehow, and he probably will do it by paying his workers less than the Eastern manufacturer is able to do.

Two Kinds of Discrimination

You had better read that paragraph again just to be sure you got it. That is the kind of freight rate discrimination the South is up against. This is *angular* discrimination. There is also some *parallel* discrimination against the South. Most Southerners, when they talk about the freight problem have parallel discrimination in mind. But competitively it is not important. Parallel discrimination is the sort which makes it possible for a box of apples to be shipped to Memphis from Chicago for less than it costs to ship a box of apples to Chicago from Memphis. That kind of discrimination is irritating and seems unreasonable, but it's not the discrimination that counts so heavily against the South.

Freight Rate Map Like Balkans

There are six major, and several subsidiary, freight rate regions. The Eastern region was placed in what is called the Official Territory. There is a Southern territory, a Southwestern, a Western Trunk-line, and a Mountain Pacific for the rest of the country. There is now one set of rates for each state within a territory, another for each sub-territory, and one for each territory. And there is also a set of inter-territorial rates. The freight rate map of the United States makes the contry look like the Balkans.

The Heart of the Matter

The reason why the South gets the sharp end of the freight rate stick is that in establishing the structure of rates in the Official Territory, rates for manufactured articles were left relatively low in the East, and in the South, relatively high. The Southerner has to pay more to move his shoes six hundred miles, most of it in the Southern territory, than the Eastern competitor who moves his shoes six hundred miles in Official territory.

Freight rates must produce, *in toto*, enough money to meet the needs of the carrier. If the carrier needs $100 a year to keep going and make a profit, it doesn't make much difference to him whether he makes that $100 by charging $75 for moving a grand piano ten miles and charging $25 for moving a thousand tons of coal that distance.

In show business this cost of overhead is called the "nut". In transportation it is called the "burden". It means the same thing in both cases.

One of the chief reasons for the creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission was the desire on the part of Congress to see that the freight rate burden was distributed fairly among the various classes of freight.

Commodity and Class Rates

There are two chief kinds of rates: commodity rates and class rates. Commodity rates generally apply to raw materials and class rates to manufactured articles. The lowest rates are always charged for transporting raw materials, since it is desirable that there be a free and easy flow. The highest rates are for articles of a high degree of manufacture or

(Continued on Page 4)

Freight Rates

(Continued from Page 3)

which require special handling. In the Southern territory, for example, pianos move under class one. Class one, for rate-making purposes, is taken as 100 per cent, class two would, perhaps, be 75 per cent of class one, class three, 70 per cent, and so on. That is *pattern*. Sometimes freight rates are raised or lowered by obtaining a different classification for an article. If rates are raised or lowered without reference to classification, however, that is due to changing the *level*.

What the South is now trying to do, then, is to bring the level of class rates as between itself and the Official territory in more of an equilibrium. In this it has the help and sympathy of other non-Official territories because they are in the same fix as regards discriminations, some of them are even more disadvantaged than the South is.

Cases 28360 and 28310

You should write the numbers 28300 and 28310 down in your memory book. They're pretty important. They're the numbers of two cases before the Interstate Commerce Commission which may, if they are decided in favor of the South, lift it out of its semi-colonial status.

As a matter of fact, there are four cases concerning regional freight rate discriminations now before the ICC. The two already numbered concern railroad class rates, the other two deal with motor carrier rates. Final hearing on the two railroad cases began March 29. With a good deal of luck they will be decided this year.

If these cases come out as they ought to come out, we will have made our first step in the direction of a real national freight rate structure in place of the present complex jungle.

Churchmen Discuss Christian Bases of World Order In Second Delaware Conference

A prior case, because it had the publicity machine of the Southern Governors' Conference behind it, got a lot more publicity than the present infinitely more important cases. The Southern Governors' case, officially known as State of Alabama *v.* New York Central Railroad, *et al.*, was important, but it didn't go to the root of the trouble as the present cases, or "investigations," as they are technically known, do. The Governors' case affected only fourteen articles (stone, cast iron pipe fittings, stoves, etc.) and it achieved the application of what is known as the "destination theory". That theory calls for the application on freight not of the rates at the point of origin, but of the point of destination. It was intended to make lower Official Territory rates apply to Southern products. It was dcided in the South's favor by a close vote of five to four with two commissioners, new at the time, not voting.

The Commissioners voting for the South's position included Lee, Aitchison, Caskie, Splawn, and Rogers. Those voting against it were Eastman, Miller, Mahaffie, and Porter.

Credit to Senator Hill

The present case or investigation was started by the ICC itself after Senator Lister Hill got the transportation act of 1940 amended with provisions requiring the ICC to remove discrimination as between rate making territories.

A tremendous amount of work has gone into the investigation. Of very special importance have beeen exhaustive studies by Dr. Ford K. Edwards, head cost analyst of the ICC. One of the reasons given by Southern railroads for high class rates, and a generally high level of rates, has been

(Continued on Page 7)

The work of the Federal Council of Churches on the problem of a just and durable peace gained attention in many parts of the world. Of equal significance was the conference held by the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church at Delaware, Ohio, March 8-12, 1943, on "The Christian Bases of World Order." In the background of this latter conference, twelve seminars had been organized for study in as many centers throughout the nation.

All the material of the seminars was brought to the conference, where excellent technicians of national and international renown, headed by Vice-President Henry A. Wallace, spoke on the seminar topics. The seminar reports and the speeches were carefully discussed. No resolutions were adopted. The conference was held for discussion, study and the stimulation of thought.

Significance of Conference

The question may logically be asked, What judgments might be made about the conference?

1. It is significant that leading churchmen, accepting the leadership of skilled men who know their material, are leading the way in thinking on the post-war world.

2. It is evident that a power-minded society must have ethical balance if there is to be the survival of human beings on this planet. Therefore, it is good to have churchmen thinking of the Christian bases of world order. Other religions, like Judaism, the Eastern church, Mohammedanism, and Hinduism, will also make their contribution to world order.

3. It is encouraging to see that the topics of the Delaware Conference caused churchmen to study the issues that are a genuine challenge today, such as: the spiritual

(Continued on Page 8)

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Senator Lister Hill Hits War Profits

Senator Lister Hill of Alabama has added his voice to those of President Roosevelt and Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt in opposing the Austin-Wadsworth Compulsory Work Bill now before Congress.

"When workers are drafted into the army they are working for the government, with the profit angle eliminated. When they are assigned to industry, they feel they would be made to work to help make a profit for their employer. That is why workers shy away from compulsory assignment to industry."

Profits in Steel

The peace-time average, 1936-1939, of the U. S. Steel Corporation after taxes was $48,500,000 in round numbers. The profits of the corporation in 1940 after taxes were $53,600,000 in excess of its peace-time averagee; in 1941 this war-time excess profit was $67,600,000; and in 1942 $23,500,000. Remember these figures were in excess of the peace-time average. Also in 1942 an additional $25,000,000 had been set aside for special contingency.

Crisis in Education

With 3,568 vacancies in six states, the teacher shortage in the South is acute. Vacancies are caused not by a lack of qualified teachers, but by the lack of funds to pay teachers a decent salary.

In Tennessee 70 per cent of the teachers who have left said they were leaving for jobs paying more money, and of this 70 per cent, only 9.3 per cent went into the military services.

The average salary for rural elementary teachers in Tennessee is $650. In Mississippi the average for over 9,000 teachers is $325. The average for the South is $917, against a national average of $1,374.

The Senate Committee on Education and Labor is considering a bill to set up a fund of $300,000,000 to raise teachers' salaries and other purposes. Write Senator Thomas, Chairman of the Committee, and your own Senators about the importance of this bill for the South.

Southern Methodist Women Speak Out on Social Issues

Praise for FSA

Eighty leaders of the Women's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church from nine southeastern states, have declared that the continuation of the Farm Security Administration's program for low income farmers is "essential to the South's present and future economic security."

In a conference at Atlanta, the Methodist women stated that the unfavorable economic status of the South was the cause of many of its major problems, and stressed the importance of FSA help for the small farmer as a means to fundamental economic improvement.

Equal Race Opportunities

In the field of race, the Methodist women declared that "the denial of equality of opportunity between races in America, particularly in the South, is a denial of the Christian faith in the unity of mankind."

Institutes for Rural Pastors Convene in Six Southern States

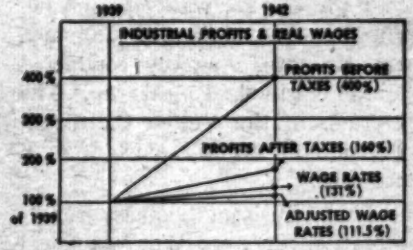
Under the auspices of the Home Missions Council of North America and local church and school groups, institutes will be held in six Southern states to discuss the theme: "The Responsibility of the Church for a Better Rural Life," according to an announcement by Dr. Mark A. Dawber.

Scholarships covering the cost of meals and lodging are available to the first fifty qualified pastors who apply in each state.

Dates and locations for the institutes are: Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala., June 7-11; Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College, Pine Bluff, Ark., June 21-26; Florida Agriculaural and Mechanical College, Tallahassee, Fla., May 10-15; Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College, Alcorn, Miss., May 3-8; Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina, Greensboro, N. C., May 10-15; State Agricultural and Mechanical College, Orangeburg, S. C., June 14-19.

Action Needed on Poll Tax

180 Congressmen have signed Discharge Petition No. 3. Only 38 more signatures are needed to bring H. R. 7, anti-poll tax bill, to the floor of the House for a vote. Request your Congressman to sign the Petition and support H. R. 7.



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The above chart is based on OPA and Commerce Department figures. It shows that after adjustments have been made for taxes that profits were 60 per cent higher in 1942 than in 1939, while wages had increased only eleven and one-half per cent. In other words, profits increased more than five times as much as wages.

TRENDS—

Two Peonage Convictions in Texas Two Indictments in Mississippi

Alex L. Skrobarczky, 62-year-old farmer and his 29-year-old daughter were convicted at Corpus Christi, Texas, of violating the Federal Slavery Statute, and were sentenced to 4 and 2 years respectively.

The convictions in Texas are the second for violations of the peonage statute.

At Meridian, Mississippi, a Federal Grand Jury returned an indictment charging Donald Castle of Lauderdale County, with violating the Federal anti-peonage, anti-slavery statutes. It was charged that Rossy Wyse was compelled "by threats, intimidation, whipping and beating to work and labor involuntarily and against his will." It is alleged that Wyse had been forcibly seized by Castle and returned at gunpoint to the latter's saw mill near Toomsuba, Mississippi, to work off an alleged $20 debt.

* * *

Absenteeism at a Minimum In Nashville Vultee Plant

Absenteeism at Vultee Aircraft, Inc., Nashville's largest employer of labor, averaged only 2.6 per cent for the six weeks period beginning the middle of January, according to a survey conducted by the Nashville *Tennessean*. The average in the Vultee California Division is slightly more than 6 per cent.

J. A. Shelton, business representative for Aero Workers Local Lodge No. 735 (A. F. of L.) at the Vultee plant, commenting on the record of his members, said a break down of the causes of absenteeism in the plant would show an even better record because of the practice of carrying as "absent" employees who had quit their jobs.

Wellman Pardoned

William Wellman has been pardoned by Governor Broughton of North Carolina. Wellman had been sentenced to die for an alleged attack on a 67-year-old woman. Subsequent investigation proved that Wellman was 400 miles away on February 11, 1941, the day of the attack.

* * *

Labor Organizers Brutally Beaten in Mississippi

Two organizers of the International Woodworkers of America (CIO), Claude Welch and Frank Avis, were severely beaten at Vicksburg, Mississippi, on March 17th. Welch resided at Vicksburg with his wife and children. Welch was forced at the point of a gun to leave his home. He was driven out of town, handcuffed to a tree and beaten. His back was brutally lacerated.

* * *

Railroad Workers Carry Double The Load in World War One

Railroad workers are doing their share of the extra work made necessary by the war. They handled smoothly in 1942 one and one-half times the volume of 1918, peak year in the World War. But this was done with only 1,270,000 workers, almost one-half million fewer workers, thus the volume handled per employee was substantially twice as great in 1942 as in 1918.

* * *

Maryland Railway Official Urges Repeal of Jim Crow Law

At a public hearing on a bill to abolish the Jim Crow laws of Maryland, E. A. Gannon, passenger and freight agent of the Baltimore and Annapolis Railroad stated that his company was anxious for repeal of the law because wartime travel has made its enforcement impossible. A delegation of some thirty-odd persons of both races attended the hearing and urged passage of the bill.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Christianity and World Order

CHRISTIAN BASES OF WORLD ORDER. Abingdon-Cokesbury Press. 255 pages; $2.00.

Read on page 4 Dr. H. D. Bollinger's account of the Delaware Conference and you will appreciate the deep significance of this new book, containing the twelve lectures at that Conference by Vice-President Wallace, Bishop McConnell, and ten other experts in religion, political and social economy, race, education and public health.

The Facts on Segregation

PATTERNS OF NEGRO SEGREGATION. By Charles S. Johnson. Harper & Bros. 332 pages; $3.50.

This book by Fisk University's distinguished sociologist, marshaling evidence to prove the illogical, irrational and deeply-rooted nature of race prejudice in the United States, comes just now with a particularly serious challenge. Does the nation have, in spite of many protestations, any fundamental desire to become a thoroughly democratic society? Upon the answer to this question which he poses depends much as to our future peace and stability.

The second book of a series projected on a general study of the Negro in American life which was sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation, "Patterns of Negro Segregation" goes into every phase of racial discrimination with the scientist's regard for facts. No other report on varying customs and manners in this field begins to approach it for comprehensiveness.

Southern Scientist

GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER: AN AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY. By Rackham Holt. Doubleday-Doran. 556 pages; $3.00.

The incredible career of a man who was great in personality and spirit, as well as in technical accomplishments, is related with reverence and wealth of detail.

Florida Growers To Import Bahama Labor

Had Refused Government Help Under Decent Conditions

Under an agreement of the Department of Agriculture with the government of the Bahama Islands, 10,000 workers will be imported to work in the rich South Florida vegetable fields and other places.

In making this agreement the Department of Agriculture is surrendering to the demands of the large scale operators in the South. Previously these large growers had turned down a government plan to take care of the needs of all labor scarcity areas from a common labor pool, on the condition that such casual labor receive a minimum of thirty cents an hour and decent conditions. Workers from the Bahamas are used to a wage of eighty cents a week.

'Glade Farming is Mechanized

The vast reclaimed swampland of the Everglades has been transformed during the past ten years into the winter vegetable garden of the eastern United States. Farming operations in the 'glades are large-scale, mechanized enterprises comparable to the great California "factories in the field". The grower needs only a half-dozen tractor drivers to plow, plant and cultivate his hundred-acre bean and cabbage fields, but when picking time comes, for a brief period he needs several hundred workers. 'Glades farming developed during the depression, when labor was cheap and plentiful.

"Worse Than 'Grapes of Wrath'"

Every fall, throughout the thirties, as the cotton season closed and the northern vegetable harvests ended, thousands of agricultural workers and their families turned South to eke out their meager summer earnings with whatever pickings they could make in the bean and cane harvests. Driven down to the southern tip of the eastern seaboard by the approaching winter of cold and unemployment, they took whatever jobs they could find, living in makeshift shelters, accepting whatever wages the grower wished to pay. A qualified observer has called conditions in the 'Glades during this period "worse than anything in the 'Grapes of Wrath'."

To Keep Farm Wages Down

Many of these people now have found better-paying jobs at home. South Florida growers wish to solve their problem by maintaining a permanent over-supply of cheap foreign labor. They would be restricted from working in industry and would be used to keep farm wages down.

Similar to Mexican Plan

Under a similar plan Mexican workers have been used in sugar beet and western cotton fields. Although the Mexican government was promised minimum wages and fair treatment for its citizens, complaints of contract violations by growers have poured into the Mexican consulates.

Food for America and her allies must be produced in ever larger quantities. This cannot be done by flooding the country with indefinite quantities of Mexican and West Indian workers.

FSA Labor Pool—The Answer

A constructive solution to wartime farm labor problems can be found in a system of transferring seasonal labor to where it is most needed, by providing pools of labor which may be used by all farmers according to their real requirements, by training people from the worn-out, unproductive farms to take the place of skilled hands and dairymen who have gone to war. This is the program of the Farm Security Administrtion, which Congress should support, but which appears doomed.

Freight Rates Keep South in Economic Bondage

(Continued from Page 4)

that it cost them more to operate than railroads operating where traffic was more dense. Edwards' studies prove that this isn't so.

Alldredge Now Chairman of ICC

J. Haden Alldredge is chairman of ICC during the concluding period of this investigation. For years, as an expert of the Alabama Public Service Commission, he worked to achieve removal of the discrimination hampering the South. Later, as transportation economist for T. V. A., he wrote the study "The Inter-Territorial Freight Rate Problem of the United States" which put the freight rate problem onto the front pages of all the papers of the South. Thousands of copies of that small blue book were sold. If the South wins the present battle, that book will have been in a large measure responsible, and it may well be said that it will have affected the life of the South more than any book other than the Bible and Uncle Tom's Cabin.

DAVID VERY.

Southern Liberals in House Move to Win the Peace

Rep. John Sparkman, of Alabama, is chairman of a group of young Democratic Congressmen, representing all sections of the country, which was formed to promote party policies and especially to insure the winning of the peace.

Robert L. Sikes, of Florida, secretary of the group, speaking of the purposes of the informal organization, said: "We feel it is essential for our Party to remain in power if we are to win the peace we are fighting for. We don't want to take a chance on the isolationist policies that went into effect when the Democrats lost power after the last war."

Estes Kefauver, of Tennessee, is a member of the executive committee.